PLAIN ENGLISH:

OR, AN

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

CAUSES that have Fruſtrated our EXPECTATIONS from the late Happy REVOLUTION, and Obſtructed the PROGRESS of our AFFAIRS:

Coſider'd in Relation to the

Preſent Conſpiracy.

And what ADVANTAGES have by the foreſaid Means been given to the ENEMIES of the GOVERNMENT.

LONDON:

Printed for **Rich. Baldwin**, near the *Oxford-Arms-Inn*, in *Warwick-lane*, MDCXCI.

942.96
1307 card

neſt Wants of Nature to provide for, who is reaſonable in her Demands, and ſubſiſts upon a little Coſt. Their Succeſſors ſet up for Gentlemen of another ſtrain; They contracted ſo many chargeable Vices to maintain, and converted ſo many Extravagancies into Neceſſaries of Life, that the Patrimony of their Anceſtors, although never ſo much improv'd, fell too ſhort for their Occaſions. Employments of State were ſought for, not through Zeal to ſerve the Publique, but for the ſupport of their private Riots and Debaucheries. The Government was become a general Mart, where the richer Chapmen bought by Wholeſale, to ſell out again by Retail.

Quare tam perdita Roma
Ipſa ſui merces erat & ſine Vindice Præda. *Petr.* [*Arb.*

Such was the Practice amongſt the Romans, *from whence I will not preſume to draw any Parallel: But rather wiſh to ſee ſuch a thorough Reformation in every Particular that could be any occaſion of Grievance, that the prudence of our Legiſlators, and the Expences of the Publique may not fail of thoſe Advantages that are expected from them. That no Adminiſtrative Offices and Employments, deſigned by the Government for Rewards of Honeſty and Merit, ſhould be proſtituted to Purchaſe.*

It

The Preface.

It will appear from the Particulars treated of in this Diſcourſe, that Zeal for the Preſent Government, and Concern for my Country engag'd me on this Subject. If Artifice or Rhethorique had been neceſſary upon this occaſion, I ſhould have declined it: But having only to do with what was viſible and obvious, and what every honeſt man will readily aſſent to, I was ſenſible that Plain Engliſh *would be ſufficient. We can only bring the impartial Hand of Truth to launce theſe Sores in the Publique Body, and leave the Cure to the Wiſdom of our State-Phyſicians.*

Plain

THE PREFACE.

THat there is a **Plot** on Foot for the ſubverting the preſent Government, has now appear'd beyond Contradiction: We are at laſt become ſenſible of our Danger. There have been few Perſons undone, who have not by Inadvertency or otherwiſe, in ſome meaſure contributed to their own Deſtruction. Had the Deſigns of the reſtleſs Faction amongſt us taken effect, it had been too late for us to reflect upon our own Neglects and Miſcarriages, and how far we our ſelves have been acceſſary to our own Ruin. I may perhaps be bold to aſſert, That the utmoſt Contrivance and Malice of our Enemies, could never have advanced to any dangerous Degree, if we our ſelves had not adminiſtred thoſe Advantages that ſeemed both to encourage and facilitate their Enterprize. 'Tis therefore worth our while (eſpecially after the Alarm that has been given us) to enter into a ſerious conſideration of thoſe Means, Things, and Perſons, by which we have been ſo expos'd to the Aſſault of our Adverſaries. What irregulari-

ties on our part, have given them opportunity to moleſt us; which Enquiry is the ſubject of this Treatiſe.

I cannot pretend in this narrow compaſs to have enumerated all the particulars; If I am miſtaken in any, I ſhould be glad to find my ſelf deceiv'd. Amongſt the Miſtakes and Inadvertencies that have conſpir'd to betray us, ſome are without Precedent or Parallel: For the Reſt, they are (together with their inſeparable evil Conſequences) to be met withal in the Annals of every Age and Country. If in any of the Particulars hereafter treated of, I have expreſt my ſelf with ſome warmth, I can aſſure the Reader, it was upon no reſentment for any diſappointment that I have met, or can poſſibly meet with, who neither expect nor deſire any further Charge than my own private Affairs, which are ſufficient for my ſmall Ambition, and more than enough for my Age and Infirmities. I have lived to obſerve the evil Effects of Ambition, Avarice for the greateſt part of one Century; What Influence it has had upon the greateſt States and Empires, appears upon Record from the beſt Witneſſes of Antiquity: I ſhall inſtance only in the moſt flouriſhing, That of the Romans, *which owed its downfall to this Degenerate and Mercenary Vice.*

Ilicet

Ilicet Ambitio naſci, diſcedere Rectum
Vænum Cuncta dari, &c.

To which we may add the Teſtimony of Lucan;

Hinc rapti faſces pretio, ſectorque favoris
Ipſe ſui Populus lethaliſque Ambitus Urbi.

With whom agree Appian *and* Petronius, who *charge the Civil War upon this very Score.*

Nec Minor in Campo furor eſt, emtiq; Quirites
Ad prædam Strepitumq; Lucri ſuffragia Vertunt,
Venalis Populus Venalis Curia Patrum.

So prevailing was this Corruption grown amongſt them, and as Seneca *expreſſes it*, Res Ventoſa nullumque habens Terminum. *Epiſt.* 84. *That ſevereſt Laws were enacted againſt it, as appears by* Suetonius. *Which yet were not ſo ſtrictly obſerved, but they gave juſt occaſion for that Remarque of* Valerius Max. Utinam *(ſays he)* more majorum, nihil eorum quæ Virtuti debentur, emere pecuniâ liceret.

But in theſe Anceſtors Days to which he appeals, their greateſt Men had learn'd the hardeſt Leſſon of Virtue, which was pauperiem pati. *And ſo long as the Republick could maintain her Splendor, they glori'd*

glori'd in the Meaneſs of their private Fortune. Niſi forte Antiquis illis Priſcis Virtutis Viris Fabiis, Fabriciis, Cincinnatis, grave fuiſſe Exiſtimamus quod Pauperes erant, Qui Divites eſſe nolebant, (*ſays* Salvian. Maſſil.) lib. de Prov. & *Gub.* Dei. 1. *And a little after*; Non deſpiciebant tunc puto pauperes Cultus, cum Veſtem hirtam ac brevem ſumerent, cum ab Aratro accerſarentur ad faſces, & illuſtrandi habitu conſulari illis fortaſſe ipſis quas aſſumpturi erant imperialibus Togis madidum ſudore pulverem detergerent. *If we trace him farther to the Conſequence of this heroick Poverty, he will tell you,* Itaque illi Pauperes Magiſtratus opulentam habebant Rempublicam, nunc autem dives Poteſtas pauperem facit eſſe Rempublicam. *The* Curii *diſdain'd not to dwell under Thatch; but if you would know what Mettal theſe noble Cottagers were made of when occaſion offer'd, you would find them to have been* pugnaces.

Et caſa Pugnaces Curios anguſta tenebat. *Claud.* [*in Ruff.*

And again, de 4. Hon. Conſ.

Pauper erat Curius Reges cum Vinceret Armis.

But the truth is, the Romans *of thoſe hardy Days could afford to be Poor, as having nothing but the honeſt*

PLAIN ENGLISH:

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CAUSES, &c.

FROM the Beginning of the Late Revolution, there remain'd Nothing for us to do, but to cloſe in a happy Settlement upon thoſe Foundations of Peace and Liberty that might have ſecur'd both our Selves, and our Poſterity. But we have ſince been ſo far remov'd from thoſe good Circumſtances, that we have rather labour'd under the Symptoms of approaching Ruine. It cannot therefore be unſeaſonable to reflect on thoſe Things that have fruſtrated our Expectations. For unleſs we turn ſhort, and recover the falſe Steps we have made,

our Enemies may yet be quick enough to intercept, and get between Us and Home.

To begin therefore with the Grounds and Occaſions of our Misfortunes; We ſhall find a principal Ingredient to have been what the Apoſtle truly ſtiles the *Root of all Evil*. Avarice is a Vice as inconſiſtent with the Health of a Nation where it is predominant, as with the Safety of a private Perſon's Soul, where it has got once the Aſcendant. Honour, Honeſty, Friendſhip, Gratitude, and whatever elſe ſhould be ſacred amongſt Mankind, muſt be ſacrific'd to this devouring Mammon. 'Tis evident from Hiſtory, That when this Corruption has prevail'd in any Nation, Employments and Places of Truſt have thereby been made mercenary. And what better Advantages could the Enemies of ſuch a Country have wiſh'd, than to ſee the publick Safety ſo expoſed; while the Avenues were left open to ſuch as were diſpos'd to betray it; provided they would but come up to the Purchaſe? And Experience in all Ages has ſhown, that ſuch Enemies will part with all they have in the World beſide, to be qualify'd for Chapmen on ſuch an Occaſion: We ſhall likewiſe find, that many of them have been furniſh'd for the Market by former Poſſeſſions of Places. For there has ſeldom been

been any Government ſo well eſtabliſh'd, where ſuch wicked Inſtruments have been wanting, who made any Scruple of ſacrificing their Country to their own private Intereſt: who never took the trouble to conſider the Conſequence of Things; for indeed what need They, having been furniſh'd with Convenient complying Conſciences, that would ſecure their own Private Stake in any Change of Affairs that could happen. Moſt Countreys have had experience of the Evil Conſequences where ſuch Vipers have been nouriſh'd at the publick Charge, and receiv'd into the Bowels of the Government, where they act but according to their Nature, if they eat through and through. But beſides this ſort of Cuſtomers, we can no ſooner open Shop for Sale of Employments, but we ſhall find the *French* King ready to diſperſe his *Louis d' Or's* to furniſh out his Creatures to be our Chapmen. How then ſhall we expect the Intereſt of the Nation to be ſerv'd by ſuch as are Engines and Vaſſals to the Common Enemy? *Do men gather Figgs of Thorns, or Grapes of Thiſtles?* Is it poſſible for us to lean upon ſuch *Egyptian* Reeds, and not to have them pierce our Hands and Hearts too? Good God! Is this the Reformation with which

we flatter'd our ſelves? wherein Honeſty and Merit expected to come in play? wherein none ſhould feed upon the Bread of the Publick, but its true and faithful Sons? When Preferments ſhould be turn'd into their Right Channel, and not the meaneſt Truſt put into ſuch Hands as had ſign'd and ſeal'd to the Ruine of their Countrey? I my ſelf, who am an Old Man, and through a long Courſe of Life have ſeen the great Maſter of Wiſdom's Words made good; *That the race is not to the ſwift, nor the battel to the ſtrong, nor bread to men of underſtanding, nor favour to men of skill*: yet could not upon ſo fair a Proſpect as was open'd to Us by the late Revolution, but hope to ſee the Day when Honeſty ſhould meet with publick Reward. I muſt once more reſume that Saying of *Val. Max. Utinam more majorum nihil eorum quæ Virtuti debentur emere pecuniâ liceret.* He had but his Wiſh for it, and I am afraid we have but little more. What have our honeſt Sufferers in the laſt Government met withal, but the honour of looking on? If their Diſappointment centred in themſelves, it were indeed a Misfortune to be pittied; but it is a matter of greater Conſequence, the Publick being in the mean time defrauded of their faithful ſervices.

vices. I would by no means be thought to detract from the Merits and Abilities of very many who are employed in ſeveral Stations: But if any *Engliſh* man will tell me we have no need of a Regulation in this matter, he muſt be a great ſtranger to his Countrey, to give him no worſe Character. He muſt be very unacquainted with our Condition, not to know we have been under the circumſtance of the Apoſtle's Catalogue of Troubles, in *Perils at Sea, in Perils at Land, and in Perils from Falſe Brethren.* There are few Countries in *Europe*, where the *French* Coin has not been more than ordinary rife amongſt them; who can all teſtifie that the *French* King will know for what he parts with his Money, as great a Prodigal as he is ſuppoſed to be of it. And it is evident, That in moſt Places he has made no ill Merchandize of his *Louis d' Or's*, but ſufficiently had his Pennyworths in Intelligence. He muſt have had their own Heifers to Plow withal, for the finding out their Secrets. And where there is ſuch clever and extraordinary Jugling as he has ſhown, it may be taken for granted, that he had his Confederates in the Operation. He that will not allow his Intelligence from his Penſioners in Employment, whereever they are, has not yet heard of a *French* Fleet braving

braving us upon our own Coaſts, and committing a Rape upon our greateſt Miſtreſs, the *Dominion of the Seas*. Was there ever an opportunity better nickt, to Diſturb us at Sea, or Threaten us with an Invaſion at Land? If our Danger, and his Advantage were not purſued ſo far as he expected, it was no Thanks to his Dependants, who contributed their beſt towards it. We were not a little obliged to the Cowardice of their Inviters, who had neither the Courage nor Honour (if it be not too great an Abuſe of the Term) to make good their Promis'd Inſurrection throughout the Kingdom, upon ſo favourable a Juncture. But above all, we were ſupported by His Majeſties moſt ſeaſonable Succeſs at the *Boyne*, which brought a ſurprizing Aſtoniſhment upon their Spirits, and left them motionleſs as Statues. Very few Ages have ſhewn the World ſuch a Darling of Providence in all his Undertakings; and This was a remarkable Inſtance of its Favour. A Victory ſo circumſtanced, ſo wonderfully tim'd, and ſo abſolutely neceſſary to the Support of our ſinking Hopes, that it muſt be acknowledg'd miraculous. Cowardiſe or Treachery (ſays an Ingenious Remarker) had oblig'd us to ſtand Inglorious Spectators, while our Allies bore the brunt of a Sea-Battel; upon this

this Diſaſter we were ſtunn'd with the diſmal news of a Defeat of our Confederates at Land; and nothing to recover our Spirits, but that Sovereign Cordial of His Majeſties Happy Expedition. The only Perſon that could in the leaſt pretend to Rival His Majeſties Conduct and Fortune in that Critical Time, was His Royal Conſort; who with a Reſolution above Her Sex, and unparallel'd Prudence of Menage, contributed to diſpel thoſe Clouds that ſtrove to darken Her Sphere. But Princes may be Active, and Providence ready to ſecond their Endeavours for the Publick, yet notwithſtanding their Fortune and Conduct, not be able to make thoſe advances in their People's happineſs, which they propoſe, ſo long as they are oppreſt with the dead weight of National Vices in their State, eſpecially ſuch as have immediate Influence upon the Publick. It is impoſſible for them to ſee beyond the firſt Ranks of their People; and 'tis happy if they can there diſtinguiſh exactly, and ſufficiently know their Men. And the Body Politick, as well as a Private, is capable of being mortally wounded in the very Heel. There is a natural Juſtice in providing for Men of Merit, and the Publick will ſufficiently find its Recompence in their Fidelity. When will *England*

be

be able to boaſt, That Honeſty is a ſufficient Recommendation? The Age is not yet ſo debauch'd, but we can ſee a National Concern take place in other Countries. The very *French* themſelves, as much as we talk of their Slavery and Oppreſſion, are not yet ſo poor, (at leaſt in Spirit) as to ſell their Countrey. All Offices amongſt them are punctually diſcharg'd; the whole Body is animated, as it were, with the ſame Spirit, and moves regularly; while many of ours either wholly neglect the Truſts that are committed to them, or make ſuch fraudulent Delays in executing their Orders, that the Care of our Governors is too frequently fruſtrated, and the Nation put to freſh Charge, to make good their perfidious Omiſſions. In plain *Engliſh*, We are ſo ſick of this Golden Jaundies, ſo infected with this Vice, that without a thorow Purge, we muſt continue in a crazy and languiſhing Conſtitution. By what practice of under-hand Inſtruments, this Misfortune has crept upon us, I will not preſume to determine; but I am certain it was never the Intention of our Governors, to have any Offices peſter'd with ſuch Perſons as ſhew'd themſelves notorious Enemies to their Country in former Reigns; while many who were not only Sufferers in former Reigns, but ſacrific'd the remainders of

their

their Fortune to aſſiſt in this Revolution, are ſilent ſpectators of their own diſappointment, and ſee the Proviſions ſeiz'd by thoſe Harpyes that ſerve only to bewray thoſe Tables where they receive their food.

Our next Misfortune has been the unhappy Miſunderſtanding, or rather *Miſrepreſentation* of Perſons; our want of making a juſt and timely diſtinguiſhment between our Friends and Enemies: I ſpeak not of Proteſtants and Papiſts, the latter whereof have been always Adverſaries (though they have likewiſe had their times of being otherwiſe repreſented); but between Proteſtants and Proteſtants. Nothing can be plainer than that we have had two Proteſtant Parties who have embraced two different Principles, and purſued two different Intereſts; but then inſtead of thoſe Canting Nick-names, of *Whigg* and *Tory*, the diſcrimination ſhould have run between Friends and Enemies to their Countrey; between ſuch as were for opening Inlets to Arbitrary Power, admitting unbounded Prerogative to ſwallow all, and Thoſe were Jealous for the preſervation of our Laws, Religion and Property. Our Moderate Man, or true *Engliſh*-Man (call him *Whigg*, or what elſe you pleaſe) is one that ſteers between Extreams, and thinks our

Conſtitution, duly maintain'd, preſerves this Mean in greater meaſure than any other Nation. That it takes from one the too great Power of doing hurt; and from the other, Confuſion, Parity and Licentiouſneſs; and yet reſerves a due Care of ſuch Liberty as may conſiſt with Mens Allegiance. A King, in his notion, is ſo exalted and comprehenſive a Thing, that he thinks it a kind of degrading the Prince, to lodge that Power ſeparately in his Perſon, which can never be truly Great, but where the people are united to him: For to conſider him under the ſingle definition of a Man, he thinks an impairing of that Veneration which is neceſſary to preſerve his publick Character and our Duty. Yet have theſe ſort of people had the misfortune (I ſhould rather ſay, the injuſtice) to be miſrepreſented as Enemies to Monarchy. For what in God's Name! Becauſe they would eſtabliſh the Prince upon the unmoveable Foundations of Law. This Aſperſion has been at all times made uſe of by Sycophants of State, to exclude honeſt Men from Employments, and a capacity of ſerving the Publick. It is perhaps at this day, one of the greateſt miſcarriages that we labour under. 'Tis a miſchief that, like a Peſt, has ran through the Kingdom, but raged chiefly

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in our Metropolis. It is upon the ſpecious pretence of being the only Friends to Monarchy, that divers Inſtruments of Injuſtice and Cruelty in the laſt Reign, had the Impudence to come in Competition with the Worthieſt Members of our City: And ſometime carried the Election.

Pellitur a Populo victus Cato; triſtior ille eſt
Qui vicit, faſceſq; pudet rapuiſſe Catoni.

We know who it was that held the Rendring unto *Cæſar* the dues that were *Cæſar's*, as indiſpenſibly as what was due to God; yet he himſelf could not eſcape the reproach of being an Enemy to *Cæſar*. It is impoſſible for a Prince to have a perſonal knowledg of his Subjects; it is ſufficient that he leaves us of the City to our Free and Cuſtomary Methods, of Electing ſuch Perſons to ſerve on all occaſions, as may beſt conſiſt with our Intereſt and Safety. But we, methinks, in this Time of Deliverance, ſhould know who were our old Task-maſters, and not once more put the ſcourge into their Hands. We know who were the Executors of *Pharaoh's* Cruelty, who cannot forget their old Trade, but endeavour with all their might to bring us back to our Houſe of Bondage. What a ſhame is it

to ſee ſuch Perſons, as upon the late turn of Affairs would have gladly compounded for their Skins, to be now audaciouſly intruding into Publick Elections, openly endeavouring to get the whole management into the Hands of the Party; to have our Rights and Liberties at their diſpoſal, while they are ſo far from recanting of their former Villany, that they even juſtifie thoſe Treacherous Meaſures, and have the hardineſs to acknowledge they would play us the ſame Game over again. *If a Man Cheats me the firſt time* (ſays the *Italian*) *it is his fault; if he cheats me the ſecond time it is mine.* In vain is the Net ſpread in the ſight of the Birds; And ſhall we again ſuffer them to circumvent us who are ſo newly eſcaped from the Snare? A Juſt and Pious Prince will never be for their Turn. No, They muſt have ſuch a one as will be confin'd to no Bouuds of Law or Juſtice; to whoſe unlimited Power they would contribute, to come in themſelves for their ſhare of Oppreſſion: They would contentedly lay their Heads under a Tyrant's foot, to have their Neighbour's under theirs. That this is their Quarrel to the preſent Government, is moſt apparent. They would enlarge, as they pretend, the Prince's Power: They carry him up the Pinnacle of Ambition,

to

to ſhew him an unbounded Proſpect, upon Condition he will fall down and worſhip them. Which was the old Tempter's policy, and admits a double Fallacy. For firſt, It is not in their power to give, although he ſhould comply; And in the next place, they deſign it not for his Intereſt, but his Deſtruction. They know he is ſafe and impregnable, while circumſcribed by Law: the Breaſt-plate of Righteouſneſs is the only impenetrable Armour. That the Defender and Preſerver of the Publique, will be always protected by the Publique. That a good Prince has as many Guards as Subjects. That his Safety is as dear to them as their own private Property. 'Tis our preſent Happineſs to have a Monarch that we can *truſt*; and our old Seducers are now convinc'd that they can as ſoon remove the Earth from its Baſis, and bring both Poles together, as ever hope to ſee him warp in the leaſt from his ſacred Promiſe. They have therefore no Game left to play, but embroil and trouble the Government which they cannot corrupt. To endeavour by all Artifices to interrupt the meaſures of State; to obſtruct the ſettlement of Affairs; to make our Great Councels ineffectual, upon which depends not only our Succeſs, but

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the ſafety of all Europe. I think we have a ſufficient Inſtance in their late Attempt to put our Imperial City into Confuſion, by Petitioning againſt its chiefeſt Magiſtrate. A Man of that unſpotted Integrity, and ſo true a Friend to his Country, that it were to offer him a Second Violence, for ſo unpoliſh'd a Pen as mine to attempt his Character. Every Body ſees through their Deſign in that Addreſs; They reckoned that they ſhould carry their Point, and get the City into their Hands againſt a Critical Juncture for which they were gaping; or that the deciſion of that grand Debate would occaſion a precipitate breaking up of the Parliament, when matters of the greateſt moment to his Majeſty's and the Nation's Intereſt were yet depending. They knew there was but one way to fruſtrate his Majeſty's Undertaking, and that was to cut him ſhort of thoſe neceſſary Supplies that are the very Sinews of War, and Life of Action. The Money-Bills were not yet paſs'd, and they did their utmoſt to hang them upon the Hedge. They had before-hand not only in their private Cabals, but in open Reproaches againſt the Government, expreſt their good-will; and as they labour'd to make the People uneaſie upon the account of the extraordinary Taxes, (having no other To-

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pick that would faſten upon them, there being always a Sympathy between the Strings of their Hearts and their Purſes) ſo they thought in this laſt Effort, to cut off the Conduit-Pipes of Contribution. Which brings me to a *Third Conſideration*, that has had no ſmll influence upon our unreaſonable and moſt unſeaſonable Diſſatisfaction; for nothing more animates or expedites the Affairs of a Prince who has great and chargeable Undertakings upon his Hands, than a cheerful Giver.

Now 'tis ſo natural to take him for a Friend that adviſes a Man to keep his Money, and him for an Enemy who perſwades to part with it. That both muſt have recourſe to the ſame prevailing Argument, which is Intereſt. He that can convince us, that he has truly this Second on his ſide, cannot fail to carry the Day: Even the moſt covetous, for the reaſon that they are covetous, will underſtand the Force of this Demonſtration. I will not recite thoſe Dangers that would inevitably have ſwallowed us, if we had not already contributed largely to the Publique ſupport: But ſtill it is for Liberty, whoſe price is ineſtimable, and an Inheritance which once throughly eſtabliſh'd, never fail'd to overpay the purchaſe. And I dare appeal to the Conſcience

of

of all the reaſonable Men in the Nation, if they would not have freely contributed more for our Safety and Deliverance, when we were environ'd with Ruin, than we have either yet expended, or will be farther neceſſary to anſwer his Majeſty's Occaſions. If we ſuffer'd the Inundation of Slavery to break in at once upon us, we muſt be contented to recover by piece-meal. We have a frugal as well as prudent Prince to provide for, who deſires to put us to no farther charge than what will enable him to protect us. If to effect our Recovery, and bring us to a perfect State of health will require Time and Coſt, it is none of his Fault. He has endeavoured at the utmoſt hazzard of his Royal Perſon, to cut the Work as ſhort for us as poſſible. If his Majeſty has any ſeperate Intereſt from that of his people, we might part grudgingly with our Diſburſments; But ſince he calls for no Supplies but what are indiſpenſibly neceſſary for our preſervation, we ought as cheerfully to contribute to his ſupport, as the *Dutch* to the maintaining of their Moundings that bank out the Sea from overwhelming them. Theſe Truths are ſo obvious to common Reaſon, that 'tis wonderful that our Taxes and Payments (were they yet heavier than they are) ſhould diſcompoſe the Minds of Men, and be any occaſion of Diviſion amongſt us. But

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we are ſtill a mixt Multitude, where the well-wiſhers to *Egypt*, are continually puting us in mind of our former Fleſhpots, agravating the hardſhips of the Wilderneſs, terrifying us with apprehenſions of *Anakins* and invincible Difficulties that are yet to be encountred. Our Elders may conſult, and our *Joſhua's* may fight, but while the treacherous *Achans* are permitted to trouble our *Iſrael* 'twill be no wonder if our Affairs proceed untowardly.

This brings us to another Conſideration, of the Ingrateful uſe and advantages that the Factious Party amongſt us has made of the Indulgence and Forbearance that has been ſhewn to them. 'Tis a common ſaying, That 'tis Pitty fair weather ſhould do any harm. I am ſure 'tis ſo in Government, whoſe greateſt and moſt charming attribute is Clemency. But in new Eſtabliſhments, if the Sword of Juſtice be kept perpetually Sheath'd, Malefactors will become inſolent, they will be enclin'd to think the Government looks upon its ſelf to ſtand upon Courteſie, that it is precarious and dares not take notice of the moſt open affronts. Their Inſolence long ſince was ſufficient Demonſtration to diſcerning Men of what deſigns were hatching; which would be worth while to trace from the

twilight to the broad day of the pre ent diſcovery of their Plot. Upon the Appearance of the French Fleet upon our Coaſts, it was eaſie for us to diſtinguiſh our Men. We ſaw who they were that carry'd Tranſport in their Countenance, who they were that excuſed our diſaſters at Sea and reviled the Dutch, who they were that compaſſionated King *James* his defeat in *Ireland*, and ſtrove to leſſen the Reputation of King *William* in that Action. We had been pretty well inform'd of a Memorial ſent to the *French* King from the diſaffected amongſt us, inviting him to their Aſſiſtance in order to introduce King *James*. This deſign was then a diſputed Point, which though they had not then the courage to confirm by their promis'd Inſurrection, they had yet the Impudence to deny. But God be Prais'd there is now ſo much of their Myſtery of iniquity come to light as leaves no Room futther Doubt. But to conclude.

For the laſt, though not the leaſt Occaſion of our misfortunes (that I ſhall mention) we are beholding to a ſort of men from whom we had the leaſt reaſon to expect it, I mean the diſaffected among the *Clergy*. 'Tis pity that any of theſe weeds that have peſter'd our Pard iſe, ſhould grow upon conſecrated Ground. Theſe

men

men I obſerved to be the firſt that diſcovered their diſcontent upon the new Settlement; I would by no means be thought to reflect upon the Church of *England* whereof I have always profeſſed my ſelf a Member; A Church that makes ſo great a Figure in the Reformation. But nothing is ſo frequent or pernicious as to miſtake names for things. We have been told what the Church of *England* is in the true Notion, that it is the Body of the People and Clergy together in Communion under a Diſcipline and Worſhip Eſtabliſhed by Law. But it has been a Stale Trick of the Clergy in all times to engroſs to themſelves the Name of the *Church*. Ours have their Hierarchy, and in God's name let them have it; and let them in God's name make right uſe of it. The word Church as the matter is now ordered is made a *Camelion* that takes its complexion and varies with every light; with different perſons it is a quite different Thing; with ſome it is King *James*, with others it is Slavery, with Bigots 'tis *C*eremonies, with the Ambitious among the *C*lergy 'tis the Exerciſe of Dominion. What has more amus'd us than the Outcry of the Churches being in Danger? we know who they were that began the Peal: they were generally the moſt licentious of the

Clergy, who were under a panick fear of *Reformation*; the only Alteration whereof they could possiby have any apprehension. Who more transported than this sort of men upon the Prince of *Orange*'s Appearance? but that was a transitory impulse, and vanished as soon as they were sensible; that instead of having King *James* delivered up into their management, the Prince was like to fill the Throne. As the Leprosie of *Gehazi* that stuck to him and his House for ever, it has been the perpetual itch of the Priesthood to be intermeddling in Secular Affairs; they were designed for Glorious Stars, and had their Sphere allow'd them wherein to shine, but when they descend to lower Regions they degenerate to pernicious Meteors. The wisest Governments have always excluded their Clergy from Affairs of State, from whence they have receiv'd the double benefit of having their Ghostly occasions better served, and their temporal Concerns less embroil'd. For of all men living they have the worst luck in Politicks. Whether it be or not (says a Judicious person) that the Clergy are not so well fitted by Education as others for Political affairs, I know not; tho' I should think they have advantage above others, and even if they would but keep to their Bibles,

Bibles, might make the beſt Miniſters of State in the world, yet it is generally obſerv'd that things miſcarry under their Government. If there be any Counſel more precipitate, more violent, rigorous and extream than other, it is theirs. Truly I think the reaſon that God does not bleſs them in Affairs of State is, becauſe he never intended them for that Employment. Yet theſe are the men that muſt be cutting us out Schems of Politicks, preſcribing to Government, and determining the Rights of Princes. What a Hotch-potch have they made with their Kings *de facto*, their *jure divino*, their *Paſſivity* and *Non-reſiſtance?* but theſe are beaten Topicks, which yet I could not but glance upon, becauſe of the ill blood which theſe men have cauſed amongſt us. If ſome few of their Leaders (for I would be underſtood in all that is here ſaid of the diſaffected Party) have obtain'd a character of ſobriety and piety, it may be the better for themſelves; but had they been all of a piece, their example had been of leſs influence to diſturb the publick. If a *Corah*, *Dathan* or *Abiram* with held their Obedidience from *Moſes*, their Retinue of Adherers may be thin enough, but if an *Aaron* ſets up a *Golden Calf* 'tis no wonder if *Iſrael* worſhip it. But, God be thanked, we have enough even of their

their own Cloth to over ballance them, and if the Scales were even, we could throw in the Approbation of all Reformed Churches, and Societies throughout *Europe*. Even the Hierarchy of the Church of *England* is ſtill ſafe and like to continue ſo, if the Faction amongſt her Clergy (her Steeple and Pinacle men) by their perverſeneſs and capriciouſneſs do not alienate the minds of people from them, as there is already but too viſible a Declenſion. For upon whomſoever theſe men ſhall pleaſe to lay the blame, it will be replied to them in the words of the *Satyriſt*, *Pace veſtrâ liceat dixiſſe, vos primi omnium* Eccleſiam *perdidiſtis.*

Let me entreat you for your own ſakes to conſider that it is a diſcerning Age in which you live, wherein *Bigotry* has ſenſibly loſt Footing. The greateſt part of the People have learnt to diſtinguiſh betwixt what is taught them by their Prieſts, with regard to their ſpiritual and temporal welfare, and what is only ſubſervient to the Advancement of the Prieſtly Intereſt. You have your ſelves been ſufficiently convinc'd of the dangerous conſequence of thoſe enſlaving Doctrines which you made your buſineſs to Preach up in the two former Reigns, what approaches of Deſolation they had brought both upon

upon Church and State. *Quæq ipſi miſerrima Vidiſtis & quorum pars magna fuiſtis.* Amongſt our out-cryes in the Houſe of Bondage that aſcended up to Heaven, who were louder in their Complaints than our Tribe of *Levi*? who appeared more zealous for the Union that was neceſſary amongſt our ſelves for our Common Preſervation? and will you not be contented to have the Scourge taken off from your Backs, unleſs you have it put into your Hands? You would do well ſeriouſly to conſult your own Conſciences, if this was not the Pinch that made you ſo reſtive when things were in ſo fair a way for an Accommodation. But whether or no you will be ſo ingenious as to retract the falſe ſteps you have made, be aſſur'd that the Nation will be ſo juſt to themſelves as to expect it from you. The Publique is ſenſible what inconveniences it has been brought into by the Prevalency of your Paſſive Doctrines, and may look for a reaſonable Reſtitution, *viz.* That you ſhould make the Nation honorable amends, by being as hearty and zealous in Preaching up obedience to the preſent Government. For till this be done, tho you ſwallow the Oaths, and come in to thla ſt man, there muſt go large grains of good nature to allow your Sincerity. You are diſpersd

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in ſuch advantageous Poſts of doing good or harm that till this Reformation be univerſal amongſt you, I know not when we are to expect a thorough Settlement. You are the Rivers and Rivulets that are every where diſperſed to water the Garden of our God; but till you have purg'd off this Taint, which (let me tell you) you contracted even in your great *Fountain heads*, you will imbitter the Soil through which you paſs. I leave your ſelves to judge if it is not more Honourable for Perſons of your Character and agreeable to your Function to rectify the prejudice of your Education, than to incur the Cenſure of the Satyriſt, *Quod quiſq perperam Juvenis didicit in Senectute confiteri non Vult.* Many Eminent Perſons of our Clergy have done themſelves this Right, and I could wiſh for your good that not One in the whole Set would ſtand out. Give me leave for but this one Requeſt at parting, that you would not think me your Enemy becauſe I have told you the Truth.

POST-

POSTCRIPT

To the Seduced Perſons amongſt the Factious Party

Countrymen,

FOr under that appellation I may be allowed to Expoſtulate with you. If you were acquainted with my years and Circumſtances, you would grant that I had no private Intereſt to ſerve in this Addreſs, nor am capable of any, neither do I apply my ſelf to your whole Faction, but to thoſe amongſt you (for ſome ſuch I muſt yet preſume there are) who would not be engag'd in the Ruin of your Country, but have the misfortune to be miſled by falſe Notions, and that ſo far as you are concern'd, it is in the ſimplicity of your hearts. Your concern for the Preſervation of the Eſtabliſh'd Church is your main Topick. That the Church of *England* in the true Notion is at preſent under as ſtrong aſſurance as is poſſible, is viſible even to her greateſt enemies, ſo ſecure that they have no way left to bring her into danger, but perſwading you that ſhe is in danger. There are thoſe *Empericks* of State, whoſe Artifice it has always been to perſwade us that we were well when we were ſick, and that we are ſick when we are well. They who told you our Church was ſafe under King *James* are the very Perſons that poſſeſs you ſhe is in danger under King *William*. By the Event of their former pretence, you may judge of their ſincerity in the latter. I will put the controverſie upon this ſhort iſſue, whether going to Maſs or Communicating according to our eſtabliſh'd Worſhip is the beſt proof of a Friend to the Church of *England*. Who think you is likely to prove the kindeſt Patron to our Church, He, who (having Sworn) thinks himſelf oblig'd to protect it, or he who thinks it meritorious to deſtroy it? There is indeed a factious Party of the Church of *England* (as they pretend who have now brought themſelves into danger, but it is by their own treachery againſt the main Body of the reſt. If you are ſuch Church of *England* men, I have no more to ſay

to you. You are as good Sons of the Church, as thoſe that Dated their Letters from on Board the *French* Fleet, or thoſe who at this Day aſſiſt the *Rapperees* to cut *Engliſh* Throats. Good God will you always perſevere in being Tools and Properties to your and our mortal Enemies the *Papiſts*? will you be always their infatuated aduenturers, and playing their Game for them at the hazard of your own Necks and Souls. They have an Intereſt to ſerve in overthrowing our Government, while nothing remains for you, but to ſhare in the Common Calamity you endeavoured to bring upon us and perhaps to fall their firſt Sacrifices. Could you but ſee them in their private Cabals at this very time inſulting over your Folly, and making themſelves merry with the miſfortune of thoſe who are engag'd in the preſent Conſpiracy.

At the beginning of this Advertiſement, I ſuppoſed you to be *Engliſh Men*, and as ſuch would conjure you to conſider for whoſe Service it is that you expoſe your Lives, Fortunes, and Families. 'Tis not in reality for King *James*, but *Lewis* the Enemy of Mankind, and of great *Britain* in particular. The *Nero and Caligula* of the Age, what aſſurance can you have from a prefidious Tyrant, who never was known to aſſiſt but with a deſign to deſtroy. What *Protection* can you expect from him who violated his moſt ſolemn Sanctions to the people that ſettled him on his Throne, and who has fattend his Soil with the Blood of his own Subjects, by what unacountable Charm has this State conjurer got the aſcendant over mens Sences, to perſwade them to court his Chains, to be proud of his Bondage, and to think Slavery to *France* to be *a la mode*. To prevail upon our moſt biggoted Papiſts, to think their very Pope fallible when in controverſie with their infallible *Lewis*. For to the inedlible Infamy of the *Engliſh* Nation, it muſt be ſaid, that we are at this time peſter'd with a Crew of both *ſuch Proteſtants* and *ſuch Papiſts* as appear *Prodigies* to their own reſpective *Parties* throughout the World beſide.

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